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There are a large number of effigies that, for want of a better name, most Wisconsin archeologists have called "turtle" mounds. No explanations can be offered of these peculiar effigies unless they are attempts to picture fish or are altered water-spirit mounds. The Winnebago had no turtle clan, but the turtle plays an important part in their mythology.

Perhaps the most peculiar effigy mounds are the famous "Man" mounds, of which only two examples are in existence, and the so-called "intaglios." Good descriptions of both types have been given.[1]

The two "Man" mounds have generally been regarded as inexplicable or connected with some prehistoric rite, and it seemed useless to attempt any explanation. As there seemed to be no reason why these mounds might not fall into the same category as the clan mounds, the writer took the opportunity of inquiring about them among the older Winnebago. A number of the people asked knew nothing about them, but, fortunately, two very old members of the tribe interpreted them, as soon as they were described, as representations of the Warrior or Hawk clan. As this clan belonged to the Bird phratry, no one had ever looked for any but bird emblems.

No information has been obtained from living Winnebago that could throw any light on the "intaglio" mounds. We wish, however, to hazard a suggestion as to their possible meaning. "The intaglio effigies," to quote Mr. Brown, "may be described as being the reverse of the ordinary effigy mounds. They are excavated out of the soil instead of erected upon it, the earth removed from the shallow excavation being heaped up with care along the edges, giving form and prominence to the animal shapes depicted."[2] The Winnebago frequently placed symbols referring to water deities under water, and, as 10 of the 12 intaglios that have been described belong unquestionably to the Water-spirit clan, it may have been customary to keep these "intaglios" filled with water. The discovery of two supposedly Bear "intaglios" militates against this suggestion. However, according to the Bear clan legends, the ancestors of that clan came from the water, as did likewise those of the Wolf and Buffalo clans.

We now come to the most unsatisfactory problem of our area—namely, the nature and significance of the linear mounds. The various types have been best described by Mr. A. B. Stout and we will do best to quote him *in extenso*:

> The principal classes of linear mounds are as follows:
>
> The pure linear type is a straight wall-like mound of uniform width and height. They are usually about 2½ feet in height and from 10 to 20 feet in width. Some are so

[1] "The Preservation of the Man Mound," in vol. 7, no. 4, of the Wisconsin Archeologist, and "The Intaglio Mounds of Wisconsin," in vol 9, no. 1, of the same journal; both papers by C. Brown.

[2] Cf. Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 9, no. 1, p. 8.

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172 of the distribution of copper among the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo, and if we were in a position to tell whether or not these tribes had copper before their arrival in Wisconsin. We might then be in a better position to decide whether the Winnebago obtained their copper from these tribes or from some northern tribe, presumably the Potawatomi or Menominee. It is generally supposed that they actually did obtain their copper implements through the intermediation of these two last-mentioned tribes, although there is no really conclusive evidence for it. That opportunities for their transmission through the Menominee or Potawatomi were plentiful is unquestioned, and the only problem is whether the systematic exchange was not conditioned by the appearance of the white traders.

The last problem connected with Winnebago archeology is the authorship of the numerous flint arrowheads. They are found all over Wisconsin, in every nook and corner of Winnebago territory, in every stage of manufacture, and yet the Winnebago of to-day regard them as having been made by some other tribe. The most common explanation of their origin is the legendary one that they were made by worms. In the few cases where the old men were of a different opinion, the writer was assured that they were the "bones" of the water-spirits, and consequently holy. Numerous myths speak of them in connection with the water-spirit. The Indians admit that they had at times used them as arrow points, but insist that in every case they were found in the earth; that in fact people were generally blessed with them. Mr. Skinner informs me that the Menominee, on the other hand, remember very well how they were made. Among the Winnebago, until recently, three kinds of arrow points were in use: one, properly not an arrow point at all but simply a sharpened arrow, the second consisting of sharpened portions of pieces of antlers, and the third consisting of a turtle claw that had been softened and straightened. It has generally been maintained that the presence of regular "quarries" absolutely clinched the hypothesis of a Winnebago origin for the flint arrow points, but it seems to us that we would first have to prove that in every case where such quarries are found no tribe but the Winnebago had ever occupied that territory, because had any Algonquian tribe been there they might be held as much responsible for these quarries as the Winnebago. That they were not used within the recollection of the oldest men among the Winnebago there can be no doubt, because this question was repeatedly put to them, with negative results.

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It seems best, therefore, to attach some significance to current belief as to the origin of the flint arrow points and to assume for the present that they were either the work of the prehistoric ancestors of the Winnebago or that of some tribe that had occupied the terri-

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*The bear hunt.*—Bears were hunted by individuals or by the tribe. Before a man started on a bear hunt he went through the following ceremony, known as *wanaᵃire'ire*, literally "concentration of the mind." He either built a special lodge or used his own for the ceremony. A kettle containing food was placed on the fireplace; this was intended for the particular bear the man wished to kill. The food generally consisted of corn or dried fruit; tobacco and red feathers also were offered, the former in small bark vessels. All these offerings were made not only as sacrifices to the bear but in order to make the feast as tempting as possible. When everything was in readiness, the host rubbed two sticks having rough surfaces against each other, called *nai'ᵃcuxax* or *nai'ᵃcuidjo'ire*. The host never ate. He continued his singing and rubbing until he attracted the attention of the bear, as indicated by the appearance of a little streak of flame passing from the fire toward the gifts he brought for him.

The same ceremony was performed before starting on a deer or a raccoon hunt. In addition to this ceremony, individuals always used the special hunting medicines that they obtained during their fasts. This was frequently chewed and then rubbed into the arrow (nowadays into the gun).[1]

There is a time of the year called *hiruci'e*, when bear break hickory or oak branches for the nuts or the acorns. It seems they are then very easy to approach. If a man killed a bear he would always refer to it in terms of respect.

The tribal bear hunt always took place in summer. As enemies were generally encountered on the way a winter or war feast was always given before the party started. This had nothing to do, however, with the hunt proper. Following is a fairly close translation of an account of a Winnebago bear hunt and buffalo hunt secured by the author:

*Description of a bear hunt.*—When the Winnebago went on the bear hunt they always traveled in large numbers. They would always be able to find bears in the groves of red timber-oak, and it would be very easy to kill them. Nevertheless the old people considered it a very dangerous affair, especially if the hunters came upon breeding bear. If anyone killed a breeding bear he would cause very much trouble. The male bear would get very angry and chase the man who had done the killing, and if it ever happened that he was out of ammunition, the man surely would be killed. The bear would jump upon him and tear him to pieces. It is said that when bears kill a human being they always eat him. Another way of getting at the bears was to clear away the ground for them. It is very easy to kill them then. This generally takes place at the time of the year when the acorns fall to the ground. The bears gather in the cleared spaces and lie down there. They lie in the timber under the trees. They look like black objects in the distance. It is customary to shoot at them from some distance, but care is always taken not to shoot all of them, nor to shoot when the wind was with them, for then they would avoid the hunters

[1] Numerous descriptions of the *wanaᵃire'ire* are given in the Hare Trickster cycle.

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224 825 or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about three two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared spaces is known as the *hiruc'e* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

224 *Description of a buffalo hunt* Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, [721 they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even 648 said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Homatse* (Missouri ?), Winnebago, Iowa, and *Wadjakdjapera*, the Oto. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies [727] and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated.

224 721 A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (*J. H.*):[1]

[342] Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement [237 was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As 372] they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried for fuel.]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [war feast] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting [203] council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

223 [762] *Pigeon hunt.*—The pigeons are "chief"[2] birds and they would be hunted whenever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

[1] As his grandfather was a Dakota, *J. H.* may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. Apart from this consideration, it should be said that *J. H.* was an exceedingly unreliable informant.

[825 [2] They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunderbird, or Chief, clan. 214]

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The menstrual lodge is never far from the lodge in which she lives. Indeed, it is within speaking distance, so that the occupants of her parents' lodge can hear her. All the utensils she uses are very small. The women stay from 4 to 10 days in the menstrual lodges. The older women stay out the shorter time because they are over it sooner. 841 343

It is said that if the young girls have any lovers they always come to the menstrual lodges at night. This is therefore the time for wooing. It is said that the girls cohabit with their lovers in these menstrual lodges. Those girls who have parents are attended by watchers, so that no unworthy men may visit them. They are especially guarded against ugly men, who are very likely to have love medicines. However, generally it is of no avail to struggle against such men, for they are invincible. [584 836] [832]

The women always take their blankets with them when they go to a menstrual lodge, for they never lie down but remain in a sitting posture, wrapped in their blankets. The women are always watched, so that when their menstrual flow comes everything is in readiness and lodge poles are placed around them and a lodge erected above their heads just about large enough to fit their body. They are not permitted to look upon the daylight nor upon any individual. If they were to look out during the day the weather would become very bad, and if they were to look at the blue sky it would become cloudy and rain. If they looked at anyone that person would become unfortunate. For four days they do not eat or drink anything; not even water do they drink. They fast all the time. Not even their own body do they touch with their hands. If they ever have any need of touching their bodies they use a stick. If they were to use their hands in touching their own body their bones would be attacked with fever. If they were to scratch their hands their heads would ache. After the fourth day they bathe in sight of their home. Then they return to their homes and eat. (This, of course, holds only for those whose menstrual flow ceases in four days.) If any women have to stay longer than four days they have to fast for that entire period. They always fast during this period and often some spirits bless them. When a woman who has stayed in the menstrual lodge for 10 days is ready to return to her lodge, she bathes herself and puts on an entirely new suit of clothes. Then her home is purified with red-cedar leaves and all the sacred bundles and medicines removed. Only then can she enter her parents' lodge. As soon as she returns to her parents' lodge after her first menstrual flow she is regarded as ready to be wooed and married. 841 [921] 831

Thus the teacher of our customs, the Hare, has willed it. At a feast all the young girls nearing the age of puberty will be absent, but the old women, who have passed their climacteric, sit right next to the men, because they are considered the same as men as they have no menstrual flow any more. 581 825 884

If the Winnebago can be said to be afraid of any one thing it may be said it is this—the menstrual flow of women—for even the spirits die of its effects.

If the above account may be taken as a fairly accurate description of the customs connected with the menstrual lodge as they existed in former times, then one point must be regarded as of great interest, namely, that the women permitted their lovers to meet them there. So far as is known to the author, among other tribes having menstrual lodges it would have been considered a crime for any man to come near them. According to our informant the women were indeed guarded while they were in the menstrual lodges, but not so much to protect them against the intrusion of all men, as against the intrusion of unworthy men. From other information obtained, how- 831 841 cut

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616 that, as mentioned before, were a new clan introduced now among the Winnebago its position would depend exclusively upon the nature of the animal associated with it. As similar reasons dictate clan
614 groupings among some of the Central Algonquian tribes, a few words
●825 concerning this type of association will not be amiss. The groupings of the fauna into a distinct number of categories is extremely common in North America. Among the Winnebago, a number of other Siouan, and Central Algonquian tribes, there was a fivefold classification; earth animals, sky animals, empyrean animals, aquatic animals, and subaquatic animals. Among the Winnebago the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water-spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, and particularly at the hands of the
[796] leaders of such ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake, as well as at the hands of those who had in their keeping the clan origin myths.

The characteristics of the thunderbird, eagle, bear, and water-spirit as clan animals, and as animals connected with a division of fauna, are also related to the general conception of these animals per se. The eagle and hawk are birds of prey; the thunderbird is generally a deity granting long life, and associated with peace, although his connection with war is also common. Similarly, the bear is supposed to have a "soldier" nature, and the water-spirit is intimately associated with rites pertaining to crossing streams, calming the sea, and ownership of water property. This correlation unquestionably indicates an influence of the religio-mythological conception of the animal upon the social group with which it is associated. How far this can go is abundantly attested by the names and behavior of the *waggeregi* and *manegi* divisions.

On the other hand, we may legitimately ask what influence the two divisions had in molding the attributes of these animals, or upon the behavior of the groups with which their name was associated. The functions of a warrior may have determined, as they certainly have accentuated, the "warrior" characteristics of the eagle and hawk, nor is there any easily intelligible reason why the thunderbird should be associated with peace. From our knowledge
[774] of the social organization of other Siouan tribes, the political functions of the clan seem to be the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the case, the possibility of associations of warlike and peaceful attributes with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the social unit as vice versa. With regard to such functions as the exogamy of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waggeregi* and

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*manegi* divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must then realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences—of the religio-mythical conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations with the water-spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connection, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must thus have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

### Functions of the Twofold Division

The only function that the *waŋgeregi* and *manegi* divisions seem to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waŋgeregi* man had to marry a *manegi* woman, and vice versa. The only other function was, according to some informants, reciprocal burial. Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation, for a *manegi* man buried a *waŋgeregi* man because, as a "land division," it pertained to him to place a corpse in the earth. This, however, seems to be a doubtful function, for earth burial seems in olden times to have been characteristic only of the *manegi* division, the *waŋgeregi* clans employing scaffold burial. In addition, the burial relation was one of the many reciprocal duties of the "friend-clan," and if it was ever postulated of the *waŋgeregi* and *manegi*, this was likely due to the fact that the "friendship" relation seems also to have existed between two clans belonging to the two different divisions. According to one myth, however, the four clans of the *waŋgeregi* paired off as "friends" with four clans of the *manegi*. This would then be practically equivalent to saying that the *manegi* buried the *waŋgeregi*.

Thus far we have spoken only of the socio-political functions. The two divisions, however, play a part in a number of social and

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walking in the clouds, there is a name, *He-who-walks-in-the-Clouds*. Now since the thunder-birds have long wings, there is a name, *He-who-has-Long-Wings* . . . Now when the thunder-birds come, they come with terrible thunder-crashes, it is said; and as many people as there are on this earth, . . . and as many plants as there are on the earth, indeed, everything, the earth itself, they deluge with rain, and thunder-crashes (are heard); for all this they have a name; they call him *Waruǰiŋge*.

The point at issue in this interpretation of names is can we accept it as historically primary? We do not think so, for the following reasons: A large number of the names are clearly descriptive of animal habits, others express the influence of social organization, and others refer to personal achievements, etc. Secondly, the interpretation is of too specific a nature to be regarded as one that could possibly have dictated an original system of naming; and, thirdly, in spite of its prevalence, other systems of interpretation are present. As a matter of fact in the above quotation, our informant distinctly mentions the fact that the characteristics of thunderbirds were used for names, although he insists that the names referred specifically to the ancestors of the Thunderbird clan. According to J. O. Dorsey the interpretations obtained by him were largely symbolical. He makes no mention of the interpretation obtained by the author, although this may be due to the fact that he was but imperfectly acquainted with Winnebago ethnology. It seems best, therefore, to regard the ancestor-episode type of name as but one, perhaps the last, that developed among the Winnebago.[1]

### ATTITUDE TOWARD CLAN ANIMALS

When the animal names became associated with the social groups they were accompanied by the specific associations clustering around these animals. These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude exhibited toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group.

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived of as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of

[1] For fuller discussion cf. P. Radin, The Social Organization of the Winnebago Indians, Museum Bulletin 10, Anthropological Series 3, Geological Survey of Canada, 1913.

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614 825 776 the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit unit may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus a symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal differs from that toward the guardian spirit in this characteristic respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself than with the "spirit." As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunderbird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan symbol [423] and used as a property mark, and he is brought into intimate contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Naturally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the living animal species. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time, retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive way, for the blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is, in short, a clan protector.

In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent: first, the possibility of the "spirit" of the guardian spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration connected with religious societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal represents an exoteric conception; secondly, under the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an identification with the animal species itself. It might be objected that there is no inherent correlation between social organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals. It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned from the animal, and as long as descent is postulated it must be from the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit" conception, little can be definitely said except that the systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of esoteric societies, and that the visions obtained during fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal. On general psychological considerations we are inclined to believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of the individual toward his clan animal.

### RELATIONSHIP TO CLAN ANIMALS

614 825 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the consideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a part in discussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the de- [124 174] termination of this relationship—data obtained in reply to direct questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in the origin myths.

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the origin myths. Part of the oral data is merely a reflex of the origin myths, but part is not. The value of this "unwritten" material lies in the fact that it represents the popular, exoteric attitude, the attitude that, on the whole, is not the result of conscious rationalization, and that this exoteric view may very likely have been the basis for the priestly esoteric interpretation.

The prevalent conception of the relationship of the individual to his clan animal is that of descent from an animal transformed at the origin of the present human race into human beings. This view is expressed in some of the origin myths and the general statements of individuals. Direct descent from an animal was never postulated. The definition of the term "animal" is, however, very difficult. The Indians themselves seem to make a distinction between the animal of to-day and the animal of the heroic age. The main characteristics of the animal of the latter was his power of transformation into human form and vice versa. Although the animals have lost this to-day, they are nevertheless descended from this animal. The human beings are, however, descended from precisely the same "animals," so that it might be well to bear in mind that descent from the transformed animal does not mean descent from the animal of to-day. This view is more systematically expressed in some places. According to one miscellaneous myth, the existing human beings and animals were descended from the same being, who once possessed infinite powers of transformation now into human and now into animal shape. At one time, presumably the beginning of our present creation, these "beings" either consciously or unconsciously exhausted all their "transforming" power, and the form into which they changed themselves, human or animal, remained fixed for all time. The existing animals have never succeeded in regaining their power of transformation. Among human beings this power has only been vouchsafed to those few who have obtained it as a special gift from some spirit. Even then, however, it is ludicrously incomplete as compared with the same powers of primordial "beings." This conception of the animal-human archetype must not be regarded as at all flavoring of a philosophy developed after contact with Europeans. The error that has always been committed in discussions upon the nature of descent from the animal lies in confusing our concept of animal species with the term "animal" as used by primitive people, and in the lack of discrimination between the possible connotations of that same term, as applied to animals of to-day and as applied to those animals that were brought into intimate contact with the clan ancestor.

There is no reason for regarding the specific descent from the totem as a development of this older Winnebago idea of the origin

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614 of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a
825 religious one, the former merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being simply descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. The idea of descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit and may be far older than its
614 specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating ex-
825 ample of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war
778 bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The ceremony connected with it has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result we find descent
[776] from the thunderbird and night-spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the relation of an individual of the heroic age to a village. Here
[773] the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter and marries into the village, becoming thus the eponymous ancestor of the subsequent village group.

614 At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, this seemingly being a peculiarity of certain cultures only. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the
[771] latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest coast, among the Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves, in addition to the above, we find the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact of its members imitating the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reasons at all for the name, while in others an animal is killed, becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, and the group takes its name from the fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

### THE CLAN TIE

614 In intimate relation with the attitude toward the clan animal is the
602 conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the tie between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal.
[562] Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is

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crowd dispersed and went home. Blue-bear said that he would go home but that the rest were to live on this earth and that they would be the soldiers of this earth. That is the origin of the Bear clan.

When a bear is killed on earth, the Bear clansmen do not mind it, but they laugh and feel good. When one of the Bear clan dies, they say, "Don't cry, for he has gone home." Then they paint his jaws red to give him the appearance of laughing.

When a bear is killed on earth the spirit returns to Blue-bear, and so it is with the Bear clansmen. This is the story of the Bear clan.

All the birds, trees, snakes, and everything of its kind have soldiers. The sharp-clawed birds are soldiers of the birds and all the snakes that have fangs and all the trees that have prickers are soldiers of their kind. All the animals and living things of the earth have soldiers among them. The ugliest tempered ones of their kind are soldiers of whatever class they belong to. Oftentimes when a person gets angry on earth they would say, "The soldier; it is because he has a soldier nature." (Whoever has the power of hurting one of his fellow-beings and does it has a soldier nature.) This is the story of the Soldier clan.

If they had said in the beginning, "This or that clan will never do anything wrong," then the rest of the clans would never have done so. The Soldier clan opens the way for anyone, of any clan, at any time, to take up his soldier nature.

## CLAN SONGS

*Song 1*

Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.
Winnebagoes, on the road they are coming.

*Song 2*

Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.
Speaking Winnebago, they are coming.

*Song 3*

Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?
Who can be behind?

*Song 4*

Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?
Who can be above?

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763 of prey hovering around the hill and he felt certain that they were there so that they could devour him as soon as he was dead. How-
● 825 ever, the birds told him they had come to cure not to devour him.
735 Many carnivorous birds and many wolves were there. The turtle
736 also came because he was the owner of some medicines.

Then the animals who had gathered on the hill began to doctor him. The raven began first. He ejaculated *e-he-a! e-he-a!* gave him some medicine and began to exert his powers until he felt better. Then the wolf began. He walked around ejaculating certain sounds and spitting medicine on him. The man became much better. He was almost completely restored to health. Then the turtle began to exert his powers, ejaculating at the same time *ahil ahil ahil ahil* and walking around the man and giving him some boiled medicine to drink. Now he was almost entirely cured. Finally a black hawk began to doctor the man. He put some medicine on the place where the man's pains seemed to be situated and he was immediately cured. Then all those who had cured him said, "Human! In a similar way you shall cure your fellowmen." They then gave him as much medicine as he would need. The raven gave him his "medicine chest," consisting of a flute and a gourd. With these things he blessed him. He also gave him a song which he was to sing. Then the wolf gave him his medicine chest, consisting of a gourd and a flute, and told him that he would not fail to cure any sick person he treated and that if the sick people offered the proper amount of tobacco, red eagle feathers, and food, no matter how serious their disease was he would be able to cure it. Then he told the man that Earthmaker had placed him in charge of these things and that he in turn would bless him with them for all eternity. As long as any of his posterity was left they would enjoy the benefit of these blessings.

825 And this is true, for even to the present day his descendants use
756 this medicine.

Then Black Hawk said, "I, also, bless you. Earthmaker placed me
[784] in charge of some medicines and with these I bless you. If you are careful in offering tobacco and food to these medicines they will always help you to the utmost of their power. Whatever you ask they will accomplish for you. They will be able to understand you. So, if anyone is sick, you will be able to help him. In this way I bless you. If you are ever in any difficulty, think of me and I will help you." (What he meant is that if he ever was in any difficulty, he should think of the medicines with which Black Hawk had blessed him, and that that would be the same as if he thought of him.)

Then the Buffalo said, "My grandson, Earthmaker placed me in charge of certain medicines. Why should you then wish to die? Your condition is 'pitiable,' and therefore I want to bless you.

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All these spirits whom Earthmaker made with his own hands were placed in charge of certain things. All these spirits have had compassion upon you. All those whom Earthmaker created as holy have blessed you. Earthmaker has placed me in charge of certain medicines and I am so completely in control of these that I can do what I please with them. There exist no beings either on the earth or under the earth whom I can not cure. With all these do I bless you. All your previous blessings were from spirits who live either on earth or in the heavens. The medicinal plants I bless you with are called Buffalo medicines. The other medicines are called 'stench-earth medicines.' As long as you and your descendants live these medicines will be efficacious. The owners of the stench-earth medicines they will be called. In this manner I bless you."

Then the hitcars said, "I bless you with those things that Earthmaker placed me in charge of. I was created by Earthmaker. Medicines, grass, trees, and bushes (for use in the making of medicines), with these I bless you. I bless you with my utterance. With my mouth, I bless you. If a human is suffering and places tobacco in your hands, then you may mention my name and pour a pipeful of tobacco into the fire. I will grant whatever you request. All the medicinal plants with which I bless you shall belong to you and your descendants as long as the earth endures. Your children can use them, and they will protect them. If any part of their body is weak from disease they can heal themselves with them. Many things will you gain through these medicines. You may also eat them. Human! you have dreamed, not only for yourself but for all your descendants. As long as this earth endures, so long will your descendants use these medicines with which I have blessed you. In this way I bless you."

Then the wildcat said, "Grandson, Earthmaker placed me in control of medicines also. I bless you. The other spirits have blessed you with certain medicines, and to these I now add my own. I can not tell you anything about the heavenly blessings. The spirits above have already bestowed these upon you. I will, however, tell you this: There is nothing either upon this earth or under it that I can not accomplish. I bless you with the power to do the same. With the blessings I give you, you will be able to accomplish anything you wish whenever you put these medicines to use. If a person were dying, and his relatives offered tobacco and food to you, you would be able to cure him. When you use my name, concentrate your mind upon me, and offer me tobacco. If I smoke the tobacco you will then know that your request has been granted. All the medical plants that I am giving to you, all the herbs that I am blessing you with, to all these, make an offering of tobacco. Whatever you ask they will grant you. All the animals that tread upon the air, all those

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825 756 on the earth, have medicines that you are to use on earth. Whatever you say on earth it will be so. You have been blessed with all the things that are on and under the earth."

All the fowls and insects of the air, all the beings that have wings, blessed him and gave him medicines, which he was to mix with other medicines. He was told to make use of all the insects of the earth and air, some of which we never see. All those who live on earth, all the fishes in the water, and all the different kinds of water-spirits blessed him with medicines. He was blessed with, and told to use as medicines, all those plants that live in the water. He was blessed with the leech, one of the animals that lives in the water, and he was to use it in medicine mixing. They say that it is good to mix the leech with other medicines to relieve pain. He was blessed with all the trees, that we see to-day, which he was to use as medicines. Their bark, leaves, and roots are considered very good for such purposes. He was blessed also with all the small undergrowth, whose leaves, bark, inner bark, blossoms, and roots he was to use for medicine. He was blessed with all the weeds, and he was to use their heads and leaves for medicine, but their roots were to be used for other purposes.

Thus all the different kinds of plants that grow on this earth blessed him. The earth also blessed him and said to him, "Grandson, as the other spirits are blessing you, I, also, will bless you. Earthmaker has placed me here, and I therefore bless you with all plants that grow upon me, and all the trees and weeds and animals that exist on this earth, and lastly, with life and myself (i. e., earth). You may use me, and especially the blue clay that you derive from me, for medicines. Should you use as medicine all these things with which I have blessed you, especially if you use me, as medicine, you will be able to accomplish all that you attempt.

"If a person who is sick offers you tobacco (i. e., asks you to cure him), remember that I also would like to smoke and that it is for that reason that I have blessed you."[1]

[826] Birds, especially eagles, are used in the making of medicines. The entire body of a raven, including the heart and brains, are used, and also the following snakes: The gray snake, the black snake, the blue snake, the yellow snake, the bull snake, and the snake that breaks itself in two. The rattlesnake is used in a mixture given to women when in labor. If a woman hurts herself during pregnancy and kills the child within her womb, she can be made to deliver the embryo if she uses the medicine mentioned above.

[844 278 845]

[776 782]

[1] According to general belief the spirits are supposed to have entered into a sort of "bargain" with the human beings by which they were to bestow their blessings upon them in exchange for tobacco, buckskin, and feathers. Of course, it must be understood that individuals must have the necessary requirements, such as a certain attitude of mind, fasting, etc., before their offering of tobacco has any meaning to the spirits.

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Toads are used, but only for poison medicines. The quail's heart 825
is used for the same purpose. If a person is killed outright, his heart 756
is used as a medicine, as the human heart is regarded as having great 826
efficacy in such medicines. It is used in war, for compelling people
to give you presents, and for courting women. The bear likewise is
used for a variety of purposes. Its liver is especially powerful. It
is rubbed over the body whenever in pain. It is often used by
women who have injured themselves in childbirth, or in the form of
tonics, poultices, and emetic; or for toothaches, bathing sore eyes, ear- [757]
aches, headaches; as snuff, as a physic, for burns, strictures, boils, hemor-
rhages, injections in the rectum, consumption, measles, dysentery,
chills, nosebleed, pains in the stomach, and headaches caused by
poisoning.

Sometimes a woman would take a hair of her husband and stick 832
it into some bad medicine. In such a case he would never leave her
for he would become very much enamored of her. If ever she went
away, he would miss her very much. However, he always had a
headache. Finally he would get sick and lose his appetite and then
his eyesight. That is why it is forbidden to use this medicine,
although some still do it.

Many Winnebago are blind, because there is a medicine that 754
causes blindness. If one person offends another who possesses such
a medicine, the latter would cause the offender to become blind.

The Winnebago have medicines for every purpose; for courting, [832]
for becoming rich, for obtaining good looks, etc. Even if a person
is very holy, these poisoners can poison him. If a man was a good
hunter or if he was wise and good, these bad shamans would poison
him. If an individual was a great medicine man and these bad
shamans got jealous, they would poison him. Indeed, only if a person
was poor and lowly would they like him. Such a man they would
never poison for they had no reason for being jealous of him. A
bad shaman is always treated with the greatest respect and honor,
because he kills many people.

A warrior is also greatly respected and flattered. It is the Indian's 554
greatest desire to become a warrior. All desire that, and they also 156
wish to become great medicine men and bad shamans. [756]

This is the way they prepare and use their courting medicines. 832
The courting medicine known to me is a plant of apparently two 278
varieties, one of which has a blue blossom and the other no blossom at
all. Otherwise they are alike. The one with the blue blossom is the
male and the one without the blossom is the female. When I go out
to dig this plant, I do not dig for these two specimens unless I can
find them growing together closely. Even then I do not dig any two [824]
specimens unless the male is found growing on the east side. For
that reason it is very hard to find them. As soon as I find two that

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756 small piece of a root and tell him to chew and eat it. This the guest
796 would have to do, and from that time on he would never know when
[264] he had had enough to eat. He would never get satiated. Whenever the man who had been blessed gave the feast personally, no one was ever known to leave anything upon his plate. While eating the guests kept time. They never shook their plates, for if anyone did so the others would immediately give him whatever remained on their plates. They would assume that anyone who shook his plate was the possessor of the stench-earth himself and that he intended to eat up these extra portions with the aid of this medicine. If, however, the shaking was done unintentionally and he failed to eat up the extra portions placed on his plate, then he would make a noise like a raven, and those who wished to help him consume this food would also cry like the raven, approach him, and flap their arms as the birds do their wings. Then all would eat.

When the man who obtained these blessings died, he left all these medicines that he had been the first one to use to another person. With the medicines he of course left all the songs. All that he used to do when he doctored a sick person he bequeathed to his successor. The last man who had these medicines was not a holy man but he knew all their uses and for that reason he was considered a powerful and holy man. To-day only the poison medicines are remembered; the good medicines are all gone.

This is the end.

### How an Indian Shaman Cures His Patients[1]

756 "I came from above and I am holy. This is my second life on
775 earth. Many years before my present existence, I lived on this
539 earth. At that time everyone seemed to be on the warpath. I also was a warrior, a brave man. Once when I was on the warpath I was killed. It seemed to me, however, as if I had merely stumbled. I rose and went right ahead until I reached my home. At home I found my wife and children, but they would not look at me. Then I spoke to my wife but she seemed to be quite unaware of my presence. 'What can be the matter,' I thought to myself, 'that they pay no attention to me and that they do not even answer when I speak to them.' All at once it occurred to me that I might, in reality, be dead. So I immediately started out for the place where I had presumably been killed and surely enough, there I saw my body. Then I knew positively that I had been killed. I tried to return to the place where I had lived as a human being but for four years I was unsuccessful.

● [825] "At one time I became transformed into a fish. However, the life of the fish is much worse than ours. They are very frequently

[1] The shaman is represented as in the lodge of the patient and as speaking to him and his relatives

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in lack of food. They are nevertheless very happy beings and have many dances.[6]

"At another time I became transformed into a little bird. When the weather is good the life of the birds is very pleasant. But when it is cold they are compelled to undergo many hardships on account of the weather as well as on account of lack of food. When it was very cold I used to go to the camp of some people who were living in the neighborhood and try to steal some meat from their racks. A little boy used to stand near these racks and we were very much afraid of him because he carried something in his hands with which he shot and which made a dreadful noise. Whenever he shot it we would all fly away. What the boy was using was a bow and arrow. At night we slept in a hollow tree. If I entered the tree first and the others came in behind me I would be almost squeezed to death. If, on the other hand, I waited until the last I would sometimes have to stay outside and when the weather was cold I might have frozen to death.

"At another time I became a buffalo. The cold weather and the food did not worry me much then, but as buffaloes, we would always have to be on the alert for hunters.

"From my buffalo existence I was permitted to go to my higher spirit-home, from which I originally came. The one in charge of that spirit-home is my grandfather. I asked him for permission to return to this earth again. At first he refused, but then after I had asked him for the fourth time, he consented. He said to me, 'Grandson, you had better fast before you go and if any of the spirits take pity upon you (i. e., bless you), you may go and live in peace upon earth.' So I fasted for four years and all the spirits above, even to the fourth heaven,[7] approved of my coming. They blessed me. Then I fasted 10 days more and then 20 and then 30. Finally all the spirits blessed me, even those under the earth. When I was ready to come to this earth, the spirits gathered together in a council-lodge and 'counciled' about me. All the spirits were present. They told me that I would never fail in anything that I wished to do. Then they decided to make a trial of my powers. They placed an invulnerable spirit-grizzly bear at one end of the lodge and sang the songs that I was to use when I returned to earth. Then I walked around the lodge holding a live coal in the palm of my hand and danced around the fireplace saying *wahi-!* and striking the hand containing the coal with my other hand. The invulnerable bear fell forward prone upon the ground and a black substance flowed

[6] This is commonly postulated of both the life of the fishes and that of the muskrat.

[7] He is probably referring to the four earths, although it is, of course, possible that there were four heavens. However, I never obtained the slightest indication of such a belief.

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776 rather high conception was shared by all the Winnebago. Our
782 impression is that many Winnebago believed the offering would
771 be mechanically followed by the blessing. Take, for instance, the following example: A middle-aged Winnebago while hunting was suddenly surprised by the enemy. He succeeded in making his escape into a cave. All hope of final delivery seemed to be gone, for the enemy stationed themselves before the entrance. Now this man had never been blessed in his youth and knew little about the proper procedure to observe when making offerings to the spirits. In this terrible crisis he turned instinctively to the spirits. He took some tobacco and put some in the different nooks of the cave, and said: "Spirits, whoever you are, and wherever you are, it is said that you love tobacco and that in return for it you bless people. Here is some tobacco, and I ask that I may return to my people." There was, as far as we know, no promise made that in return he would make further offerings to them or that he would thereafter love them and honor them. He escaped and unquestionably believed that it was due to the intervention of the spirits, but the spirits were, quite clearly, constrained to act because they had received tobacco.

There can be little doubt that many Winnebago felt as this man did. We find an expression of the same attitude in a myth. The Winnebago are represented as making offerings to the buffalo spirits, and the smoke is ascending to the home of these spirits through a hole in the sky. The younger buffalos can not resist the temptation of approaching the opening to catch a few whiffs of their favorite tobacco. They are thereupon warned by the older buffalos not to go too close, for the tobacco fumes might tempt them too strongly; and should they succumb to the temptation and accept the offerings, they would then have to appear on earth and be killed by man.

776 As might have been expected, there is in the relation of the spirits
782 to man something similar to the securing of the food animal by some
771 such ceremony as the *waxaⁿkere*. The spirits are dazzled, hypnotized
●82 by the offerings, and accept.

In the second of the examples given above we were dealing with a [illegible] animal—the buffalo. If there is any plausibility in the explanation we advanced before that the Winnebago interprets religion in terms of life, the relation of the spirits to the food supply ought to show it. Now, it is characteristic of the Winnebago religion that the great generalized spirit deities, like Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, etc., have little to do with the securing of specific kinds of food. As a rule, some generalized spirit-animal presides over the various species of animals, and he gladly permits the animals to appear on earth to be killed by man when the proper offerings are made. This seems to have been a secondary interpretation, however, developed probably [756] under the influence of the shamans as a substitute for the purely mechanical attitude mentioned above. To picture the food animals

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as desirous of being killed and eaten by man is, however, but another way of saying that the food animals were killed and eaten, and were secondarily and weakly brought into the general religious life, because everything was seen through a religious vista. It is by no means certain that this was always the case, and there seem to be innumerable indications in the myths that there was a time when the securing of the food animals was not connected with religion as such.

Just as the securing of food animals is to-day connected with certain spirits, so are the various activities of man during his life. But characteristically it is not a generalized conception of life, but life as consisting of a prescribed number of years, with so many war honors, so much wealth, so much food consumed, so many children, etc. The spirits are exhorted to give to every man his allotted number of years, food, etc. These are apparently his by right, and if he dies before his time the ghost of the deceased is asked to beg the spirits to distribute among his relatives the "unused" years, food, etc. So here, too, we have a clear example of the explanation of purely materialistic conception of life in terms of religion.

It will be best to discuss the main features of Winnebago religion under the following heads:

I. The religious concepts:
   1. The concept of supernatural power.
   2. The concept and nature of the spirits.
   3. The power and localization of the spirits.

II: 1. The twofold interpretation of the relation of the spirits to man.
   2. The guardian spirits.
   3. Personal religious experiences.

III. Methods of bringing the spirits into relation with man:
   1. Fasting.
   2. Mental concentration.
   4. Offerings and sacrifices.
   5. Prayers.

IV. The folkloristic concepts:
   1. The concept of evil.
   2. The concept of disease.
   3. The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.
   4. The concept of the soul.

V. The cosmological ideas.

## The Concept of Supernatural Power[1]

The Winnebago have no such belief in a "magic power" as Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt and Mr. W. Jones would have us believe exists among [44]

[1] For a general discussion of this concept in North America cf. my paper on the "Religion of the North American Indians," Journal of American Folklore, vol. 27, no. 105, pp. 335-373.

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776 posed to be at eternal enmity with him, and for that reason he is regarded by most of the Winnebago as a sort of a mixed deity, partly evil and partly good, but always to be feared and capable of bestowing great blessings on man. Owing to the fact that he has become [614] identified as the clan ancestor of one of the most important Winnebago clans, he has undergone a partial rehabilitation.

The Water-spirit is an important figure in the older myths, and in them seems to be identified with the bad spirits. The attitude of the Winnebago toward him is full of inconsistencies. He is evil, yet his [778] "bones" are the most prized possessions of man on account of the remarkable power with which they are endowed. He is an evil spirit, yet according to an apparently old myth (the Traveler) one of the Water-spirits is the spirit deity in control of the earth.

In addition to these marked anthropomorphic and theromorphic spirit deities, the Winnebago, as mentioned before, have a large number of vague spirits, like fire, light, etc., and a legion of animal spirits. The latter show some interesting transitions extending all the way from purely nonspirit heroic animals to distinct spirits, conceived of as animal in shape but noncorporeal. In many cases it is, of course, [825] quite impossible to say how marked the "spirit" nature of the animal is, because it often depends on who is looking at it. To the ordinary nonreligious Winnebago the hare is mainly an heroic animal; to the religious Winnebago or a member of the medicine dance he is a spirit-animal or even a spirit-deity. In the same way different conceptions are held about the nature of the animal clan ancestors, some thinking of them as heroic animals and others as generalized noncorporeal spirit-animals and spirit-deities. Wherever guardian spirits are animals they also become noncorporeal spirit-animals. One of the reasons given by the Winnebago for the fact that the different guardian spirit-animals do not object to the killing of animals of their own species is because, in killing a bear a Winnebago is not killing his guardian spirit, the bear, for the latter is a generalized spirit-bear in control of all the bears who appear on earth.

In a number of cases it is not at all difficult to trace the development of a trickster hero, an anthropomorphic hero, or an heroic animal, into a spirit to whom offerings are made. Thus, for instance, [702] kettles and often buckskins are offered to *wak'djexk'a'gu*, hare, and the twins, at the war-bundle feasts.

### The Power and Localization of the Spirits

According to the Winnebago, spirits possess the power of bestowing upon man all those things that are of socio-economic value to him. These may vary from such very important economic things as rain

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When I was ready to go down among the human beings (i. e., when I became reincarnated) I was given the power to overcome my enemies in battle. And this I have actually done. All the Thunderbirds have small war-clubs. I also had one when I came. Whenever I went on the warpath I made myself a war-club and used that only in battle. I believe that I was invulnerable. Whenever I got tired of living among human beings I knew I could return to the Thunderbirds. I thought I knew all this and that I had these powers. For that reason when I ate peyote I still held on to these beliefs for a long time, thinking that when I returned to the Thunderbirds inasmuch as they are above it would be the same as going to everlasting life, as the Peyote people said. Finally, one night, at a peyote meeting, in thinking over these things, I resolved to give them up. I could, nevertheless, not bring myself to do it. Then the peyote began to strangle me;[a] at least I thought so.

I also had the power of causing or stopping rain. All that I had to do was to offer tobacco to the Thunderbirds and make my request.

### HOW A BEAR BLESSED A MAN[b]

Once a band of Winnebagoes used to give a feast to the bears. A bear had blessed one of their number with life and victory on the warpath.

It was a spirit-bear that had blessed him. The man was fasting and the spirit blessed him and said, "Human, I bless you. In war you will be able to do as you wish (i. e., you will be able to kill an enemy whenever you desire). The first time you go on the warpath you will come back with the fourth war honor; the second time you go on a warpath you will return with the third war honor; the third time you will return with the second war honor; and the fourth time you will return with the first war honor and receive the first prize, which you are to give to your sister." This is what the man "dreamed." He believed it and was happy. Then the spirit-bear said again, "Human, I said that I blessed you and I really mean it. Earthmaker created me and gave me control of many things. Human, I bless you. As many years as Earthmaker bestowed upon you, that number I also bless you with. You will reach the limit of the years that were granted you. With my body I also bless you. Whenever you are hungry and wish to kill a bear, pour a pipeful of tobacco for me. If then you go out hunting, you will be successful. Don't abuse the bears. I am the chief of the bears. I bless you. Never before have I blessed a human being, as long as I have lived here. As long as your descendants live on this earth, so long will this

[a] According to the Peyote people, if a member does not wish to do or tell something that he ought to, the peyote begins to strangle him and he finds no relief until he tells what is on his mind.

[b] This is really the "origin myth" of a bear feast.

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●825 776 787 blessing last. Should your descendants perform the feasts in my honor well, I will bless them with life and victory on the warpath. Whenever you offer me tobacco I will smoke it. If you put on a kettle of food for me I will be thankful to you. When you put this [84] kettle of food on the fire and offer me tobacco see to it that you keep away menstruating women . . ."

### HOW THE DAUGHTER OF MANK'ERRXKA REQUESTED A BLESSING FROM DISEASE-GIVER[a]

787 159 776 The daughter of Mank'errxka was fasting. She was his third daughter. She decided to fast during the summer. In her fast she was told that she was blessed and that on the following day a big deer would come across the waters for her to eat. Then she went to her father and said, "Father, I have been told to eat a big deer, and that to-morrow very early in the morning it will come out of the water." "It is good, my daughter. That deer has been given to you by the spirits and you may eat it."

Early the next morning a big deer came across the waters. "Let it be," the people said (to her). "As soon as it comes near we will chase it." So they got into a boat and chased it. Then they killed it and gave it to some other person instead of the young woman. "My daughter, what are you going to do? Are you going to eat the deer!" "No, father, if I were to eat the deer I would have killed it myself. But you people have killed it, so I will not eat any of it."

Then she rubbed some charcoal on her face and went to the place of fasting and said, "What you (the spirits) gave me others have taken away and eaten." Early in the morning she looked around toward the water. She was very weak, for she had not eaten for a long time. Nine days she fasted. She was saying to herself, "As soon as I see a deer I will tell the others and call my father." In the morning she went out in search of the deer. She was so weak that she could hardly crawl along. But she managed to reach the edge of the waters and, as she looked across, she saw a deer coming. So she immediately went to her father and told him. He got up immediately and, taking a spear, jumped into a boat, pursued, and speared it. Then the girl said, "Now I will eat." So they called her uncles, [782] Wolf and Elk.[b] When they came she put tobacco in their hands and said, "My uncles, I have offered tobacco to the different spirits and asked them to bless me. Now I am about to eat and I would

[a] The rest of the story is a description of a bear feast and how, in spite of the warning of the spirit four [illegible] women took part in the feast; how, thereupon, two bears suddenly appeared and killed them, and how for that reason the bear feast was given up.

[114] [b] This account has been cast in a literary mold, but there is no doubt that it represents a real fasting experience. It is included here principally because it contains a number of extremely interesting features.

[c] These are the names of individuals.

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159 So they spoke to him. "Whenever
787 you give this ceremony, no matter what blessing you ask, we will
776 bestow it upon you, when you offer tobacco. A flute you must also
[534 keep holy. You must make it yourself, so that it remains sacred."
[778 They also told him to make a war bundle. The Buffalo chief told
● 825] him this. So he made one out of a buffalo head and a buffalo tail.
These he made sacred so that people might offer tobacco to them.
This was done long ago and yet they still do it.

Then they told him that four differently colored buffaloes would bless him—a white one, a black one, a red one, and a yellow one.

After a while he was blessed the second time. This time the spirits came after him from above and took him to the home of a spirit buffalo. This is the one that blessed him.

"Earthmaker has placed me here," said the spirit, "and he has
[726 given me control of many things. Grandson, I bless you. I am in
782] control of war power, and if you ever go on the warpath don't forget me. If you pour a pipeful of tobacco for me before you go into battle, the enemy will only be able to shoot your shadow." Thus he spoke to him. "I will take your body, and in that way it will only be your shadow that the enemy will try to shoot with all their strength. You will be without a body, and how then can they hit you, being without a body?" This is what the spirit told him. So, therefore, whenever he went on the warpath it was impossible to kill him. For the spirit had said, "I am also in control of life and I will give you your life back, that you may control it. The spirits
[796 have given you a tobacco-pouring feast and whenever you give it,
782] remember that I wish to smoke also. When you pour tobacco for me I will grant you whatever you ask. If you ask for war, or if you ask for life, I will accept your tobacco. As long as this earth lasts I will smoke your tobacco and accept the kettle of food that you place on the fire for me."

Thus he spoke to him. The man, however, still kept on fasting, and finally the spirits came for him again. There in the middle of the earth lived a buffalo-ghost. There he went and the buffalo-ghost said to him: "I also bless you. You were given counsel and I who am a buffalo also counsel you. I am in control of many things. Earthmaker placed me here to live and he put me in control of many things. Human, look at me," he said. The man looked at him. Then he saw that his body was covered with flattened bullets. "Thus you will be," said the ghost to him. "It will be impossible to kill you, and you will attain to old age, and when you get tired of living you may do as you please. I give you the privilege of controlling yourself." Then he gave him a song and he caused him to see a war prize, a wampum. After a while he spoke to him as follows:

"I also will always smoke at your feast, and if a kettle is ever put on the fire for me, I will be thankful to you. Whatever the people

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THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (SECOND VERSION)

614 796 Informant, member of Bear clan: As soon as the first bear month is visible they have their feast. They do not use meat but products of the earth. The feast is held at night, never in the daytime. The [305] people always save up food some time before giving the feast. The [325] favorite dishes of the bear are sugar and blueberries. When they can not obtain these they use other vegetables. Indeed, any product of the earth is all right.

When they prepare to give the feast they get the food ready and have some tobacco on hand. On the first day of the first bear month they put on the fire some kettles with dried corn mixed with fruit and others containing green corn. The latter is boiled. They also have [203] ground sugar. When these are ready the feast attendant goes around the village to invite the people. When all have entered the lodge and taken their proper seats, then the host rises and addresses them:

614 796 537 "All my relatives who are seated here, I greet you. It is not through blessings of our own that we can always make offerings of tobacco. My grandfather was blessed by a spirit called Black Fur, a spirit who is in command of all the other spirits. This spirit told us that we could perform the ceremony in this way. It is for that reason we have made an effort to heat water for him.[a] The first request we make is that if we ever go on the warpath, we may conquer. Our grandfather was also blessed with life by the bear spirit [b] and he told him that he would grant him and his posterity whatever they asked. [782] We shall therefore send to this spirit a pipeful of tobacco, two kettles full of food, and some tree sap.[c] So much will we send him, accompanied by an offering of tobacco.

"As soon as the attendant gets everything ready the feasting will begin."

Then the attendant puts food in every plate, and when he has finished the host speaks again.

"Relatives, it is said that when the plates are supplied to you [264] filled with food, then you should begin to eat. Do not, however, use your right hands in eating."

The host tells the feasters to use their left hands in eating, and they obey him. Before starting to eat all the fires are put out and the people eat in the dark.

614 796 In the spring of the year this feast is given again. Twice a year it is given.

The feast [d] was always given with some choice dried corn that had been put away for this event. Once when it was time to give the [841] feast in the first bear month, the two daughters of the man who was

[a] Boil soup and prepare food in general.
[b] Black Fur is apparently a ceremonial expression for bear.
[c] Ceremonial name for maple sugar.
[d] What follows is an account of why this particular feast was discontinued.

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to give it had their menses and were fasting. When the feast was about to be held there was no food and their mother gave the girls some of the sacred food and the unclean girls boiled it and ate it. 614 796 841

The following spring when the girls were out helping their mother tan some hide a bear approached them and tried to kill the girls. The old woman fought the bear off as best she could, but he paid no attention to her and tried to get at the girls. Finally he killed the girls. Then the old woman attacked the bear and finally threw him down and killed him, using her tanning stick as a weapon.

Now this bear was not an ordinary bear such as live on this earth, but his body was covered with blue clay. He had come out of a spring of water shortly before he came to this place. The girls had eaten sacred food when they were unclean, and that is why this bear came and killed them. [776 688]

Since then that particular band has stopped giving this bear feast.

### THE SNAKE CLAN FEAST

When a person wishes to give a snake feast, four chickens must be obtained. The nephew of the feast giver is then told to prepare these chickens and make the general preparations. 796 614

The feast is given in the fall, just as the snakes are supposed to go into their winter quarters and close their doors. The winter is their night, and then they go to sleep. [825]

Shortly before the feast begins the host takes out a bundle containing four snake skins—a yellow-snake skin, a rattlesnake skin, a blow-snake skin, and a bull-snake skin. In honor of these he gives his feast and makes his offerings.

As the fall of the year is to the snakes the same as our evening, the Winnebago give this feast in their honor then, in much the same way as we have our supper before retiring for the night. The snake skins are representatives of the first four snakes Earthmaker made and which he pierced through the earth in the direction of the east. The snake skins are kept to represent the four original snake-beings and to keep evil away from homes. That is why offerings are made to them. Four men only are invited to this feast (as main participants), and they must each eat a chicken. [773]

The host himself opens the dog for the snakes. In front of him, next to the fireplace, he makes four holes in the ground, thus opening the door for them. There he likewise places tobacco for them. First he pours tobacco in the fire, for the fire is the mediator between the people and the spirit. The fire tells the spirit the wishes of the people and is, in general, in charge of the members of the tribe. For that reason they always pour tobacco upon it. [782] 796

Now the host rises and speaks. "Grandfather (fire), you who stand in the center of the lodge, I offer you tobacco, for you are the interpreter (between the spirits and human beings), and I know that 614 537 372

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796 themselves; and, lastly, the order in which the guests are invited (pls. 56, 57, 58).

796 121 It follows from the above remarks that in order to get a really complete account of the entire ceremony information should be obtained from each clan. The account given by any one clan will only contain the origin myth and the songs belonging to the war bundle of that clan, for although it is part of the ceremony to relate the origin myths of the various war bundles and sing the specific songs connected with them, no individual would take it upon himself to tell any but those relating to the war bundle of his own clan. Thus it will be seen that any single account is defective in some rather important particulars.

## ANALYTICAL PRESENTATION OF THE CEREMONY

796 The ceremony falls into three well-defined parts: I, the Sweat Lodge; II, the First Division, generally known either as the Feast in honor of Earthmaker or the Feast in honor of the Thunderbirds; and III, the Second Division, known as the Feast in honor of the Night Spirits.

[782] There is little to be said about the Sweat Lodge, for it consists exclusively of offerings of tobacco and prayers to the spirits, on the part of the one giving the ceremony, whom we will call the host.

The first division can be divided into the following component elements: (1) The preparation of the buckskins; (2) the dog sacrifice; (3) the filling of the ceremonial pipe and the smoking ritual; (4) the tobacco offering to the spirits; (5) the buckskin offerings to the spirits; (6) the feast; (7) the fast-eating contest; and (8) the basic ritual.

The second division can be divided into the following component elements: (4) The tobacco offering to the spirits; (9) the throwing out of the buckskins; (6) the feast; (10) the episode of the "Night-crazed" warrior; (11) the terminal dog ritual; and (8) the basic ritual.

[887] (1) *The preparation of the buckskins.*—The buckskins, made as white as possible by old women, are taken into the lodge by the host and there marked in the manner prescribed for each spirit. They are then tied to a framework and rolled to the top of this frame.

[782 825] (2) *The dog sacrifice.*—The dog is strangled and a pouch of tobacco is tied to each limb, and another pouch and red feathers are tied around his neck. The body is then laid in front of the war bundle, facing south, this being the direction in which Disease-giver, the spirit to whom the dog is specially sacrificed, lives.

[776] Before strangling, a short speech is addressed to the dog in which the slayer apologizes for killing him, and assures him that in the

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778 B. was not the eldest son, but, as mentioned before, the war bundle was always given to that son who manifested the greatest interest in it. When B. and his brothers were quite young their father took them aside one day and told them the stories connected with the war bundle and told them, in addition, that the one manifesting the [869] greatest interest would receive it. B. immediately started getting material for a feast, and this he would give to his father, who would then give a feast. This was repeated over and over again until B.'s father felt that B. knew enough about the ceremony to conduct it himself, after which he allowed him to take entire charge of it.

The war bundle contained the following objects:
The body of an eagle (traxce'p).
The body of a hawk (k'eredju'sep).
The body of an unidentified bird (wanink'hIwjteak'I'zok'e).
The body of a pigeon hawk (k'Irik'I'risge).
A deer-tail headdress (teasinte wak'e're).
Eagle feathers (teaxce'p maco').
Medicines (wase').
Flutes (hijo'juk).
War club (nama'tce).

[825] The birds' bodies were supposed to give the possessor, in times of war, the characteristics of these animals. The flutes were associated with different spirits and used to accompany certain songs during the ceremony proper. When blown during a fight, they were sup- [789] posed to paralyze the running powers of the enemy and thus make 726 him an easy prey. The deer-tail headdress, the eagle feathers, and the war club were all war paraphernalia and were always worn when on the warpath.

x 796 When the custodian of a war bundle decides to give a feast he has his nephews go out and kill as many deer as they can, for the larger the number of deer obtained the larger will be the number of spirits to whom they can make offerings. As a rule ten to eleven deer are killed, so that all the clans, or at least all that are still in existence, can be invited.

[202] After the deer have been killed active preparations are begun; the invitation sticks (nano'yona) are sent out, and the wood for the ceremonial lodge is gathered; and, lastly, old women who have [886] passed their climacteric are set to work on the buckskins and ordered to make them as white as possible. In the preparation of the lodge only the nephews, nieces, and wives of the participating men take part.

The night before the ceremony proper, the Sweat-Lodge ritual takes place.

When the buckskins have been thoroughly bleached they are brought into the lodge and given to the host, who proceeds to mark them in the following manner:

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*Offering to the Moon.*—"This we ask, grandmother, of you also. You added your power to (the other blessings) of grandfather Djobenaŋgiwi'ŋxga and you said that as long as the world lasts you would willingly accept the offerings of tobacco that his posterity extended to you. Thus you yourself said, we are told. Here is the tobacco.

"As many of our clansmen as are here living in an abject condition (spiritually), may they all follow in the direct path of war. For that we are now extending to you tobacco, food, and moccasins. And may we in the future travel in the path of war and life."

*Offering to the Water.*—"You likewise, Chief of the Water, whose body is water, blessed grandfather Djôbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga. Here it is (the tobacco). If we poured tobacco into the fire, you said you would always smoke it, it is said. Food and buckskin for moccasins we are about to extend to you. War powers and life, that we ask from you in return, for you said that you would always accept (our offerings), we are told. When you blessed grandfather Djôbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga you said that we should pour tobacco for you at all times, it is said. Here it is.

"You would recognize the offering of tobacco and the tobacco with the food that we sent forth to you, you said, it is said. We desire war powers and life for our kinsmen."

*Offering to North Wind.*—"You likewise, Porcupine,[139] told grandfather, 'For killing an enemy outright, I am useful, it is said. I am even the equal of the one who blows from the north!' Thus you told grandfather, it is said. When the proper time has arrived we should pour tobacco. Tobacco, here it is.

"Our first request is for war power and life."

*Offering to the Pigeon-Hawk.*—"Here is tobacco for you, too, Pigeon-Hawk. You blessed grandfather with war and life and it is said you told him that you would always give him what we asked of you."

*Offering to Earthmaker.*—"For Earthmaker, who is the foremost, you said we should pour tobacco, so for him we (pour) tobacco.[140] A handful of tobacco we are about to offer to you (Earthmaker)."

*Offering to the Thunderbird.*—"To you, also, Thunderbird, I am about to pour tobacco. It will be one of the foremost offerings, you said, it is said. Tobacco we pour to you."

[825]

[139] Porcupine is also associated with the North Wind in the 3rd division of the ceremony.

[140] I. e., we even have the effrontery to offer him tobacco as though like ourselves could ever obtain a blessing from so great a deity as Earthmaker! The order in which the offerings to the various spirits are made is rather peculiar, for that to Earthmaker should, I believe, come first. I suspect that my informant was probably in error in the arrangement given above, a fact easily explained when it is remembered that he tried to visualize a ceremony he had not given for some time.

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you can do so, and the women likewise can join, because we have rolled up our bundle. To the dog that we have here, an offering of tobacco can be made." Thus speaking, he sings. After he has finished the song, someone specially called upon gives the war whoop, in which the rest join. In this manner they sing four times, and the ceremony ends. They have a dog around whose neck they tie a red rag, together with a bundle of tobacco, and to each of whose limbs they also tie a bundle of tobacco. This dead dog is to be placed wherever the bones that remain of the feast are buried, generally under some tree. It is supposed that the dog will go directly to the Disease-giver together with the tobacco and there be taken over by him.

*Notes on the Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant, member of the clan: Place of honor at the feast is given to the bravest man present. Scalps, etc., are always brought to those keeping the war bundle.

Contents of bundle: Black hawk (main thing), two wolf tails, buffalo tail, snake, weasel, three flutes—one red, one black, and one blue.

Black hawk used in time of war. If I were leading the war party I would carry it and it would be able to fly. It had a small bundle of medicine tied around the neck, on each wing and each leg. A red flute always went with it.

The two wolf tails could be taken on any warpath. It gives an individual the power of running. The medicine tied to it is to be smeared over the body in order to prevent fatigue. It is also used in hunting.

Buffalo tail gives fleetness and indicates that the man received strength from the buffalo spirit.

Weasel and snake could be put around the neck and worn over the shoulders in times of war. Gives the power of these respective animals in wiggling.

Flutes, blue in connection with the buffalo, red in connection with the black hawk, and black in connection with the night spirits

## The War-bundle Feast of the Bear Clan

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The people were about to go on a hunt, it is said. They returned. Four deer had been killed. And again they went, and this time three deer were killed. But it was not sufficient, so they went out again, and when they returned it was found that they had killed only three deer. "Well," they said, "this will be all right. We have ten deer. Perhaps they will last as food until dawn."

They told the attendants to get ready the lodge and to build the fireplaces. They told them also to have the wood and the buck-

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174 types of organization. In North America there is quite consider-
614 able evidence tending to show that village-group organization often preceded the clan, and for that reason the facts brought out above may be of more than casual significance. That a system of clan names different from that now in use existed is borne out by the archaic names for the Bear and Wolf clans. That another system was making headway against the animal-name type is apparent from the disappearance of the name Hawk and the substitution of the term Warrior clan; and from the common custom of calling the Thunder and Bear clans Chief and Soldier clan respectively. What is especially significant is the fact that these three new names all represent the same type of change, the substitution for animal designations, with the correlated associations of descent or connexion with an animal ancestor, of designations indicative of the function of the clan. If the association of the social unit with a common animal ancestor was preceded by an association of a social unit with geographical location, we would then be able to demonstrate what is so rare in ethnology, the historical succession of types of naming. Having established that, there would be thrown open to us legitimately the historical-psychological question whether any necessary genetic relationship between these three types of naming existed, and whether this succession of names is to be regarded as a reflection of distinct changes in social organization.

## THE TWOFOLD GROUPING—NAMES AND RELIGIO-MYTHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION.

174 The Winnebago are divided into two divisions, one known
614 as the *waŋgeregi herera*, "those who are above," the other as the
616 *maŋegi herera*, "those who are on earth." Descent was reckoned in the paternal line. But these appellations refer to the animals
● 825 after whom the clans are named, the term *waŋgeregi* covering the birds, the term *maŋegi*, land and water animals. So firmly has this idea of the division of animal forms become associated with the two divisions that, as mentioned before, were a new clan introduced now among the Winnebago its position would depend exclusively upon the nature of the animal associated with it. As similar reasons dictate clan groupings among some of the Cen-

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tral Algonkin tribes, a few words concerning this type of association will not be amiss. The groupings of the fauna into a distinct number of categories is extremely common in North America. Among the Winnebago, a number of other Siouan, and Central Algonkin tribes, there was a fivefold classification: earth animals, sky animals, empyrean animals, aquatic animals, subaquatic animals. Among the Winnebago, the thunderbird belongs to the empyrean; the eagle, hawk, and pigeon, to the sky; the bear and wolf, to the earth; the fish, to the water; and the water spirit, below the water. This religio-mythological conception has unquestionably received a certain amount of sympathetic elaboration at the hands of shamans, and particularly at the hands of the leaders of such ceremonies as the Winter Feast, the Clan Feast, and the Clan Wake, as well as at the hands of those who had in their keeping the clan origin myths.

The characteristics of the thunderbird, eagle, bear, and water spirit as clan animals, and as animals connected with a division of fauna are related to the general conception of these animals *per se*. The eagle and hawk are birds of prey; the thunderbird is generally a deity granting long life, and associated with peace, although his connexion with war is by no means uncommon. Similarly, the bear is supposed to have a "soldier" nature, and the water spirit is intimately associated with rites pertaining to crossing streams, calming the sea, and ownership of water property. This correlation unquestionably indicates an influence of the religio-mythological conception of the animal upon the social group with which it is associated. How far this can go is abundantly attested by the names and behaviour of the *waŋgercgi* and *maŋegi* divisions.

On the other hand we may legitimately ask: what influence have the two divisions had upon moulding the attributes of these animals, or upon the behaviour of the groups with which their name is associated? The functions of a warrior may have determined, as they certainly have accentuated, the "warrior" characteristics of the eagle and hawk, nor is there any easily intelligible reason why the thunderbird should be associated with peace. From our knowledge of the social organization of other Siouan tribes, the political functions of the clan seem to be

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174 the characteristic feature of the organization, and this being the
614 case, the probability of associations of warlike and peace attributes
616 with animals may as much be ascribed to the influence of the so-
825 cial unit as vice versa. As regards such functions as the exogamy of the two divisions or that of the clans, or of the reciprocal burial relationship of the *waŋgereĝi* and *maŋegi* divisions, we, of course, know that the characteristics of the animal in question have nothing to do with the matter. We must, then, realize that we are dealing with reciprocal influences, of the religio-mythological conception of animals on the one hand, and of political functions of social units on the other. In some cases, such as the specific associations of the water spirit, it is probable that the religio-mythological conception of the animal is dominant. The association of the thunderbird with fire has likewise not been due to any activity of the social unit; and thus examples might be multiplied. In this connexion, the fact that animals with whom a multitude of associations have already been established are subsequently associated with social units, is fundamental. From this point of view, the animal names of social organization are intrusive features, and we will consequently expect to find historical adjustments. This, we think, is what has taken place here. The animal name with its religio-mythological conceptions was a remarkably strong unit, even as compared with the political unit, and as a result reciprocal influences took place. Although the religio-mythological influence must have been marked, it appears to have changed none of the marital and other functions of the two divisions, nor the political functions of the clans. What it did change, and change fundamentally, was the interpretation of the social organization.

## FUNCTIONS OF THE TWOFOLD DIVISION.

614 The only function that the *waŋgereĝi* and *maŋegi* divisions
616 seem to have had was the regulation of marriage. A *waŋgereĝi*
[582] man had to marry a *maŋegi* woman, and vice versa. The only
[764] other function exercised by these divisions was, according to some informants, reciprocal burial. Here the religio-mythological interpretations seem in part to have determined this relation for a *maŋegi* man buried a *waŋgereĝi* man because, as a "land

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meaning of "blue-back," it has been interpreted as "first," from *iconi*. In the same way *degoni* has been interpreted as *re* "to go" and *honi*, "to hunt"; and *hotcangera* has been subjected to a multitude of interpretations. This folk-etymology not only overrides the grammatical peculiarities of Winnebago, but even makes faulty compounds conform to the Winnebago principles of grammar. Inquiry into the origin of the clan names will, for these various reasons, have to be regarded as one of the most unprofitable of investigations.

### *Attitude Toward Clan Animals.*

We mentioned before that when the animal names became associated with the social groups, they were accompanied by the specific associations clustering around these animals. These associations were probably of the same type, if not indeed identical with those grouped around the animals as guardian spirits. The clan animals are among the principal guardian spirits to-day, and we must expect to find an explanation of the attitude toward them as clan animals in the attitude the Winnebago exhibit toward the guardian spirit. To a certain extent it would be quite correct to say that the guardian spirit became the clan animal. This does not, however, mean, in the slightest degree, that the guardian spirit of the individual became the clan animal, but merely that the concept of the guardian spirit became associated with a local group.

The guardian spirit is at the present time conceived as an immaterial being in control of an animal species. The attitude toward this spirit is a purely religious one, and exhibits a marked absence of taboo of any kind. It is an open question whether a vision must be attested by obtaining some part of the animal "embodiment" of the spirit, but there is no doubt that every vision is symbolized by a special gift from the "spirit." The guardian spirit complex may thus be said to consist of a special religious attitude plus symbol.

The attitude toward the clan animal is characteristically different in this respect, that more emphasis is laid upon identification with the animal itself, as contrasted with the "spirit."

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614 As far as could be determined, the clan animal is the thunder-
776 bird with his characteristics of lightning and thunder, of the bear
825 who likes honey and raisins, etc. The animal is engraved as clan
[421] symbol and used as a property mark, and he is brought in intimate contact with the group by the postulation of descent. Naturally, descent is not from the "spirit" animal but from the animal. Nevertheless the clan animal has, at the same time, retained its place as a guardian spirit, and in a most suggestive way. The blessing of a clan animal is more easily obtained by a member of the clan than by an outsider. The clan animal is a sort of clan protector.

174 In this change of attitude two considerations seem pertinent:
614 first, the possibility of the "spirit" nature of the guardian
776 spirit being a product of the esoteric elaboration of the religious
825 societies, and that its apparent absence in the clan animal represents an exoteric conception; and, secondly, that under the influence of the social functions of the clan, an originally strong religious conception of the clan animal gave place to an identification with the animal species itself. It might be objected that there is no inherent correlation between social organization and animal species as contrasted with spirit animals. It seems certain, however, that descent could only be reckoned from the animal, and as long as it is postulated it must be from the animal. With regard to the historical priority of the "spirit" conception, little can be definitely said except, first, that the systematization it has undergone suggests the influence of the esoteric societies, and secondly, that the visions obtained during fasting appear to speak of the guardian "spirit" as an animal. On general psychological considerations we are inclined to believe in the contrast of the material and spiritual conception of the animal as a real fact, although it would be hazardous to say whether one or the other lies at the basis of the attitude of the individual toward his clan animal.

### *Relationship to Clan Animals.*

174 The question of descent from the animal brings us to the
614 consideration of the whole intricate relationship of the individual
825 to the clan animal, a subject that has played so prominent a

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part in discussions of totemism. There are two distinct sources for the determination of this relationship, data obtained in reply to direct questioning, and that contained in some miscellaneous myths and in the origin myths. Part of the oral data is merely a reflex of the origin myths, but part is not. The value of this "unwritten" material lies in the fact that it represents the popular, exoteric attitude, the attitude that, on the whole, is not the result of conscious rationalization, and also in the fact that this exoteric view may very likely have been the basis for the esoteric interpretation. 174 614 825

The most prevalent view of the relationship of the individual to his clan animal is that of descent from an animal, transformed at the origin of the human race into human beings. This view is expressed in some of the origin myths and reflects the general conversation with individuals. Direct descent from an animal was never postulated. The definition of the term "animal" is, however, very difficult. The Indians themselves seem to make a distinction between the animal of to-day and the animal of the heroic age. The main characteristic of the animal of the heroic age was his power of transformation into human form and vice versa. Although he has lost this to-day, he is nevertheless descended from this animal. The human beings are, however, descended from precisely the same "animals," so that it might be well to bear in mind that descent from the transformed animal does not mean descent from the animal of to-day. This view is more systematically expressed in some places. According to one miscellaneous myth, the existing human beings and animals were descended from the same being, who once possessed infinite powers of transformation now into human, now into animal shape. At one time, presumably the beginning of our present creation, these "beings" either consciously or unconsciously exhausted all their "transforming" power, and the form into which they changed themselves, human or animal, remained fixed for all time. The existing animals have never succeeded in regaining their power of transformation, and among human beings this power has only been vouchsafed to those few who have obtained it as a special gift from some spirit. Even then, however, it is ludicrously incomplete, as compared 174 614 773 825

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174 with the same powers of the primordial "beings." This con-
614 ception of the animal-human archetype must not be regarded
773 as at all flavouring of a philosophy, developed after contact
825 with Europeans. The error that has always been committed in discussions as to the nature of descent from the animal lies in confusing our concept of animal species with the term "animal" as used by primitive people, and also in lack of discrimination between the possible connotations of that same term, as applied to animals of to-day and those animals which are brought into intimate contact with the clan ancestor.

There is no reason for regarding the specific descent from the totem as a transformation of this Winnebago idea of the origin of human and animal forms. The latter conception is entirely a religious one, whereas the former is merely an extension of the genealogical tendency prevalent in many types of social organization. Instead of being merely descended from an individual in a given social unit, the bond of membership within this unit has been strengthened by the postulation of blood relationship to the clan animal. Descent may thus be looked upon as one of the elements necessary for the stability of a political unit, and is far older than its specific extension to those clan animals. A very illuminating example of a case in point can be selected from the history of the war bundle in the Thunderbird clan. This bundle, like the others, was obtained as a gift from the thunderbird in his capacity as a guardian spirit. The Winter Feast has, however, been markedly influenced by the clan organization and as a result, we find descent from the thunderbird and night spirit, the two most important spirits in the ceremony, postulated of the original owner of the war bundle. The same tendency is exhibited in the numerous stories of the connexion of an individual of the heroic age with a village. Here the individual, generally a transformed guardian spirit or animal, comes to the aid of the people in their struggle against cannibals, defeats the latter, and marries into the village, becoming the ancestor of the subsequent village group.

At the same time no strong correlation apparently exists between a totemic organization and the extension of descent to include the clan animal, for this seems to be a peculiarity of

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12



individual cultures. Bonds other than descent from the animal are frequently found and must unquestionably be considered as older than the latter in a number of cases. On the Northwest Coast, among the Creek, Iroquois, and other tribes, descent from the totem is not found. Among the Winnebago themselves we find, in addition to the above, the idea that the Thunderbird clan takes its name from the fact that its members imitate the actions of that animal. Some versions of the origin myth give no reason at all for the name, while according to others an animal is killed and becomes reincarnated as a human being in a certain village, the group taking its name from this fact. The descent from the totem, however, where it has not been primary, owing to its being a reflex expression of the social organization, quite generally supplants the other interpretation.

### *The Clan Tie.*

In intimate relation to the attitude toward the clan animal is the conception of the tie binding one member of the clan to another. In no case did an individual regard the bond between him and another member of the same clan as based upon descent from the same animal. Blood relationship was always given as the reason for exogamy, as is brought out by the word for clan (*hokik'aradjara*). This concept of blood relationship was extended to the mother's clan generation. As we have pointed out, there is no reason for assuming that blood relationship is the primary explanation. The number of explanations for exogamy existing between one clan and another, and that of the clans of one side as opposed to those of another, indicate clearly how readily interpretations of this phenomenon change. The Bear does not marry into the Wolf clan because they are friends (*hitcak'ero*), and does not marry into the Buffalo clan because it belongs to the same side, or no reason is assigned at all. Before the question of the clan tie can be thoroughly understood, the kind of blood relationship that is here meant must be more carefully defined. This is not a general but a very definite notion, and may be said not to extend beyond four generations, in fact, not beyond the direct knowledge of some living individual.

2. Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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as follows, 'My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease.' Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit, they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick, they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well."

Here the Bear clan behaves at the same time like a ceremonial organization associated with shamanistic practices and like an individual shaman. That, to the minds of the Winnebago, this ceremonial function of the Bear clan on this occasion was regarded as a real ceremony is indicated by the term *many pe waci*. For the moment, the Bear clan as a social unit is entirely lost sight of. Nevertheless, it is the Bear clan as such a unit around which the ceremony has crystallized. This case is all the more instructive for the very reason that this ceremonial association does not form an inextricable element in the clan complex, but is merely an aspect that it assumes on certain occasions, to the exclusion of its socio-political nature. The ceremonial function of the clan is, therefore, not as firmly fixed as is the political function. This may merely be an expression of the fact that among the Winnebago it had become customary to associate ceremonial functions with religious societies.

With regard to the analogy with the individual shaman, it might be said that treating a social unit like an individual must have been quite common wherever the former was strongly marked off by specific functions such as the Bear clan. The association of the shamanistic function with this clan may have occurred just because of the police functions the clan already possessed. On the other hand, it might be pointed out that the bear, both black and grizzly, was intimately

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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associated with the treatment of disease and was the especial guardian spirit of the Indian doctors.

## INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, insofar as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend on the respective centre of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability from the point of view of organization. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional complex of the latter the centre from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed, that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society, like the medicine dance, grizzly-bear dance, and night-spirit dance, no influence is perceptible. But these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive fact of Winnebago culture—there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12



brothers, though they were his elders. The two older brothers made up their minds to do away with Hagaga. They went into the forest together and drew an image of Hagaga on the ground, painting his heart with red earth. They were preparing to thrust a spear into the heart of the image and thus kill Hagaga but he was on the limb of a tree watching them and yelled at them as they were ready to strike—"Hey, what are you about to do?" They looked up, discovered him, and were so scared at their detection that they ran away without stabbing the figure. He followed them to Trempealeau Mountain where the spirits live.

This mountain is supposed by the Winnebago to be hollow and they think all the powers of the medicine lodge reside therein. In the center of this mountain, the medicine lodge is supposed to be laid out, with the cardinal points of the compass indicated by poles. The poles represent serpents and the tie pieces are serpents, because to the Winnebago medicine lodge members the serpent is sacred."

The various animal deities came into the center of the lodge. They were, in order of entrance, the otter, the loon, the crane, the turtle, the fox, and a number of others. Nowadays when the medicine lodge ceremony is in progress, the Indians make song imitations of these various animal spirits coming into the lodge. In the main, they agree with the conception of creation held by the Menomini." The writer related the Menomini story to Henry Dick, who said it was almost the same as the Winnebago. Their initiation ceremony starts at an earlier age which coincides with the age of puberty for both boys and girls and their medicine lodge ceremony requires more time than that of the Menomini; —four days for the lodge ceremony and two days for the testing of the initiate. While the ceremony is in progress, the candidate must not go to sleep. If he does, one of the members will shake him. The first two days and nights, the ceremony is mostly chanting and explanations, while the final two days and nights are given over to active floor work. The candidate must learn to do exactly as he is told and to obey instantly. The members, during the ceremony, tweak his ears and do various things to him in imitation of the animal deities. He is then shot with medicine bags to demonstrate their power. That is, the otter skin bag is grasped by the head between the fingers of the left hand of the medicine lodge member, and touched to his own lips; then having given it his power as a medicine man, he extends it toward the initiate, crying "Hui hui" and the initiate must drop his head immediately and fall over or backward. He is shot four times in the course of the ceremony.

On the fifth and sixth days, two or three of the older members take

"Fred Mallory's children killed a large puffing adder a day or two previous to the relating of this story and the local Winnebago did not like it, prophesying all sorts of dire disasters that would visit them.

"See Milw. Publ. Mus. Bull., Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 14, note 3.

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12



574
I permit him to forget his bargain when the squash was served later in 114
the day.

Big Wave did not participate in the feast, nor did he smoke cere- 796
moniously or otherwise during the entire performance. During the feast 574
he sang several songs without drum. These were his war-bundle songs, obtained in a dream by the original owner of the bundle and descending to his successors.

The bones from the feast were gathered up by the waiters and placed in a single vessel. Tobacco was added to the bones, and the vessel taken out to a place where no people were in view and where no dogs could [782] molest the contents. This was a sacrifice to Disease Giver.

After the meat had been entirely consumed, the leader announced 796
that they would now have night spirit dancing. An old bow and four arrows were brought out and planted in the floor to stand erect in a row just west of the fireplace, where the war-bundle had formerly been displayed. Big Wave appointed one to lead the dance. The dancers aligned themselves in single file on the south side of the lodge, facing west, and were led by the dance leader carrying the bow and arrows and blowing a reed whistle, followed by the other dancers. The singers began singing and the dancers circled several times about the lodge counter-clockwise. With short pauses between, several songs and dances were so executed. When the set of songs was finished, the bowl of [574] tobacco dedicated to the use of the guests was then given by one of the waiters to the most honored guest. The head waiter lifted the stove shovel containing the remains of the burned cedar leaves and poured the contents in the fire. Then the singing was resumed and they danced once more about the fire, joyously.

When the singing stopped, the leader for this dance returned the whistle to Big Wave, and the latter, as soon as all were again seated, addressed his guests. He said that this was the way they worshipped the spirits of their fathers. He thanked those participating for their assistance in the singing and dancing and solicited their further help. So they should enjoy health, long life and success. Everyone responded [201] with a series of confirmative "O's". The feast of boiled squash was now served. It was the duty of the waiters to eat any scraps left by [261] the feasters, since food uneaten is considered an affront to the spirits to whom the food is dedicated.

The ceremonies described above were followed by a buffalo dance. It seems that the spirit of the buffalo was especially noted for his speed in running, and could imbue his devotees with his skill. Inasmuch as [825] speed in running was of prime importance in primitive warfare, where [726] the desired procedure was to come quickly upon the enemy, strike de- [535] cisively and disappear from the scene, the buffalo dance is considered an altogether proper adjunct to the war-bundle ceremony, and regularly follows in.

## *Fasting*

Whenever these girls went out to get wood my older brother and I would play around with them a great deal. We did this even although we were fasting at the time. Of course we had to do it in secret. Whenever our parents found out we got a scolding and so did the girls. At home we were warned to keep away from menstruating women, but we ourselves always sought them.

After a while some of the people living in the lodges moved away and we were left alone. They moved far ahead of us. We ourselves were to move only a short distance at a time. My father and my brother-in-law went out hunting and killed seventy deer between them, so that we had plenty of meat.

When the girls with whom I used to play moved away I became very lonesome. In the evenings I used to cry. I longed for them greatly and they had moved far away!

Soon we got fairly well started on our way back. We moved to a place where all the leaders used to give their feasts. Near the place where we lived there were three lakes and a black-hawk's nest. Right near the tree where the nest was located, they built a lodge and our war-bundle [10] was placed in it. There my elder

[10] The war-bundle was the most sacred object among the Winnebago. It consisted of dried animal skins, other parts of animals, reed flutes, etc., all of which had some symbolical meaning. The various animal remains, for instance, were supposed to give the owner the powers of these animals, the sound of the reed flutes was supposed to paralyze his enemy and make it impossible for him to walk. Each clan possessed at least one such bundle and whenever the tribe went on the warpath, this bundle was carried on the back of some

Where Trickster stops Hare begins. He is a combination of a trickster and a culture-hero. His benefactions, for instance, are all accidental. But from the start, he possesses the lineaments of a human being and his orientation is toward man. He is no longer the supreme egoist that Trickster was. At the end of his adventures the earth has been transformed into a place where human beings can live and operate. 105 538 773

It is the function of the heroes of the third cycle to prevent this order which Hare has established from being again disrupted and returning to chaos. The function of the Twins is to continue the struggles of the heroes of the third cycle and to attempt to stabilize this order for all time.

Now although the theme of all these epics is the struggle against chaos and the introduction of order, each one of the great heroes of the last three epics, attempts to disrupt the order he has himself established. Hare brings death into the universe, Storms-as-he-walks, one of the heroes of the third cycle, kills wantonly and unnecessarily and the Twins kill one of the deities who hold our earth in place. In the case of the Twins it is important to stress the fact that, as we shall see, their attack on the world order is the result of exuberance of energy which is, in itself, constructive.

This same theme of the necessity for intelligent order and the establishment of stability runs, like a guiding thread, through the Origin Myth given on pages 17 ff. and pages 252 ff.[1] There, the first problem of Earthmaker after he has, so to say, given himself a fixed orientation in the universe at large and brought about order within himself, is to stop the earth he has created from continuing its ceaseless motion. This he achieves by anchoring it at the four cardinal points and then weighing it down by means of vegetation and mountains. The anchorage, significantly enough, is brought about by pinning the island-earth down by four waterspirits and four snakes. Now snakes are the specifically sacred animals of the Winnebago, the intermediaries between the deities and man. Waterspirits, on the other hand, are, essentially, the most productively evil and dangerous of all the deities for man, fascinating him, confusing him, and placing in his hands the means for his own destruction and the destruction [825] [776]

[1] [Not processed. -Analyst]